

A SECTOR OF ARUBAN SOCIETY

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Aruban society, like all others, has its triumphs, its tribulations and its problems. Problems are generally the central concern of most citizens and this is what I would like to deal with in this paper. Among the problems to be discussed are crime, prostitution and alcoholism or otherwise those classified as forms of deviant social behavior.

Anthropology is the science of man and this includes his patterns of social behavior, therefore I feel the study of deviant social behavior will have some significance into the study of Aruban society. One question that existed in my mind as I began my research was: Has Aruba suffered an increase in crime and other forms of deviant behavior due to the growing secularization and complexity of human affairs as other modern societies have? The conclusion that I have drawn from the information collected during my research was that Aruba has also suffered. Aruba is a fast growing island partly because of tourism but also with an increase in population, its deviant behavior is becoming more evident.

Methods

In order to present a fairly accurate account of the conducted research, a discussion of the field methods employed would be as appropriate now as at any other time. A discussion of the research methods before the research account, will give more insight as to why such results were obtained.

Fieldwork is always an attempt to answer questions and these questions are to serve some significant function. Inter-

ests and problems must be defined precisely to allow for the excluding of irrelevant material. Fieldwork generally consists of observation, interpretation and comparison rather than experiment. There are standard methods which are employed by anthropologists and other social scientists with variations to suit individual needs. Some of the standard methods with brief description will follow.

Observation is one method employed frequently. It involves objective observation and participant observation. Observation should only be used if interpretation remains unbiased. Participant observation may present problems if role establishment has not been made or if the researcher becomes too involved as a participant and cannot make accurate accounts due to increased personal complexities. At times the stranger value may be an important asset.

Interviewing is also another method utilized. Interviews may be either direct or open-ended. The directed interview has specific goals to be fulfilled whereas an open-ended interview covers topics that are not directly related to the research subject but in many cases establishes a foundation for future interviews. Correlations that had not occurred to the interviewer may be recognized by what the interviewee states at some time or another.

Questionnaires are another source of information but results are not as fruitful with this method. Many do not return the questionnaires and there is also the possibility of mis-

interpretation on the part of the informant, especially if the questionnaire is not in his native language.

Collection of data extends also to the use of documents, records, census materials and indices. This information can also be used on a comparative basis depending on the application of research findings.

Other methods available are the use of cameras (movie and still) and tape recorders. The two aforementioned research tools should be treated as valuable aids but should not become the basis of dependency for information. When using a camera all available information should be listed in a log book next to the frame number. Readings should be taken for tapes as to where certain topics appear on the tapes. They should also be numbered and kept in file. Some sort of filing system is a must for all research material.

Translators and interpreters are also valuable assets. It is important to learn the language of those people being studied for any intensive research but occasionally, translators and interpreters must be employed. It is advisable to have at least two people fluent in the language for a basis of comparison for accuracy.

Key informants, when available, prove to give considerable insight in many areas which would otherwise be inaccessible.

A key informant is one who is knowledgeable and helpful in your area of study and others and is capable of leading you to other sources of information.

When conducting my own research, I followed some of the standard methods. My main sources of information are discussed below.

The majority of my information was obtained through directed interviews. On occasion I resorted to open-ended interviews especially with those informants who requested anonymity. Those informants who requested anonymity were generally those close to my own age and frequently I had to establish my role as a fieldworker in order to refrain from too close personal contacts. The establishment of rapport was extremely necessary in certain cases since some of my informants were hesitant and sometimes reluctant to give me the information requested. Upon various occasions I encountered indignant replies.

Statistics have been obtained from the annual police reports but have been taken out of direct context. These reports were a valuable aid to my research but were, however, entirely in Dutch. I was then in a position to employ another research method, that of a translator. The information was translated and double-checked with a copy of a Dutch dictionary. Other statistical information was gathered through the services of the Office of the Prosecutor to whom I am greatly appreciative.

The use of a tape-recorder was not employed since I did not, at the time, feel a direct need for such a tool. The use of a camera was utilized since I wished to photograph certain elements of material culture. I was not permitted to do so and the camera, therefore, was not put to its greatest possibilities.

Questionnaires, I felt would not have aided my research to any great extent and were therefore disregarded as a tool. Other information that has been utilized comes from direct and participant observation when no other means seemed available.

The information obtained may have varied if different operational methods had been employed but for the short time involved, I tried to put the methods I felt would yield the most productive results. Better results would have been obtained had the time span increased greatly and had the field-worker involved been more experienced. At present, I feel that the use of a tape recorder may have aided my study in certain instances but in others, I recall hesitancy upon the part of the informant as to my even taking notes. My research material was written in duplicate but my system of filing left much to be desired.

Now that methods have been discussed, actual research data can be given with the employed methods taken into consideration to validate results. It is generally acceptable to start from the beginning and so this begins with the origin of criminal law.

Criminal Law

Criminal laws involve the statutes that specify the legal entity "crime" and carry penalties invoked against said "criminals". They prohibit or compel instances of conduct which are believed to be damaging to the welfare of the society or state,

in this case, the island of Aruba. Criminal laws exist in contrast to civil laws which are generally described as a body of legal rules governing the conduct of individual persons in their private lives. The research conducted extends only to criminal laws and not civil laws. The making of criminal laws represents a fundamental social process and in the case of Aruba, a territory of the Netherlands Antilles, this process is conducted in Holland.

Criminal law also involves social sentiments. The law may have strong public support or complete minimum. The social sentiments are also indicators of social values. There are certain crimes which social scientists refer to as "crimes without victims". This term may not be familiar to Aruban society but these crimes ordinarily include abortion, homosexuality, and drug addiction. In many cases this extends to prostitution and alcoholism. These acts are labeled "crimes without victims" since they involve voluntary acts. Although prostitution and alcoholism are not crimes on Aruba, for the sake of discussion, I will include them in "crime without victims" to preserve the continuity of voluntary acts.

Crime may be defined as an intentional act or omission in violation of criminal law, committed without defense or justification and sanctioned by the state. In Aruba, most offenses are either crimes or violations. Guilt and innocence varies when defense is involved. When a crime is committed, you are considered innocent until proven guilty; but when a violation

is committed, you are considered guilty until innocence is proven.

The Police

An account of the Police Department of Aruba will be given to give a more complete description of the total factors influencing a specific sector of Aruban society.

The Netherlands Antilles consists of four territories: Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, and the three Windward Islands of St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba. The territories are referred to as eiland territories and are centrally controlled by a Lt. Governor and his deputies. He is a representative of the Queen and his office is maintained in Willemstad, Curacao. Law enforcement, including the police and justice departments, also comes under the control of the Governor in Willemstad. Locally the eiland territories are controlled by a Chief of Police.

The Korps Politie Nederlandse Antillen of the eiland Aruba has a population of approximately 60,000 spread over 190 square kilometers. The system is one of decentralization and the operations are conducted from individual departments. The Police Department is also responsible for firefighting and they maintain an excellent record for the control of the fires. There is a shortage of personnel, so the Fire Brigade is an added burden to the police.

The Justice Department, itself, is divided into two sections: 1) Detective and, 2) Juvenile. The Detective Division handles crime for those above 16 and the Juvenile Division for those

16 and under. The Juvenile Division may handle offenders who are older, depending on the offense (rape, child abuse). The Juvenile Division consists of two men (in Oranjestad plus two in Sint Nicolaas) with a rather small office. The Juvenile Division also includes the Moral Division and this accounts for their handling of prostitutes and pornography.

There is a shortage of personnel and this requires the addition of overtime hours. Overtime personnel are required specifically for special events, carnival, elections, guarding of ships, and sports events. In 1969 alone, 31,818 hours of overtime were paid out. As of December 31, 1969 there were 238 employees, making the average overtime hours 133 per employee.

Training and examinations are given yearly for assistant inspectors and officers. First class policemen are eligible for officer training. All police personnel are required to attend target practice twice a month at the practice lanes of Wela. Practice is concentrated in the use of pistols with competition practice held at the end of each year.

Public hostility towards the police does exist. Policemen are the targets of negative responses from citizens probably since the beginning of organized law enforcement and Aruba is no exception. Police officers have suffered bodily injuries due to unreported assaults by citizens. On the other hand, the police officers are not always gentle. Police violence does exist in various cases. Police officers have repeatedly used violence in the use of force to extract confessions or informa-

tion from suspects. One excuse given is to help make arrests and another is to obtain respect from hostile or defiant persons. I have not at any point in my research come across racial attitudes in the Police Department. I am not claiming that it does not exist, merely that I have not come across any.

The Justice Department is responsible for charging a suspected law offender and bringing him to court. Before going to court, the Office of the Prosecutor is involved. The criminal processing is set into action by the arrest of an individual by the police, who take him into custody and proceeds from there. Following is a summary of what happens to a suspected law offender,

The Office of Counsel for the Prosecution of the Attorney General (Parket Procureur Generaal) is located in Curacao. The attorney general handles the civil cases whereas the district attorney handles criminal cases. The attorney general handles civil cases for Holland also. The office in Curacao also handles the cases that occur on Bonaire, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius. The office has under the attorney general, a district attorney and two assistant district attorneys. Under these, there are also two assistants to the assistant district attorneys. Aruba has a district attorney and an assistant district attorney.

Handling of Criminal Cases

Criminal cases are handled as follows: police officers arrest an individual and must file an official report. This

report is called a "proces-verbaal" charging a person with either a crime (misdrijven) or a violation (overtredingen). The report has many copies and one must be sent to the office of the prosecutor within six hours. Six hours is the time limit allowed between arrest and filing of the "proces-verbaal". The form is filed only if the offendant is kept in custody. The arresting officer may release the offender within 24 hours. If the form is filed though, the offendant gets a copy.

Between the hours of 8P.M. and 8A.M., the six hour limit does not apply. If, for example, a man is arrested at 9P.M., the report must be completed with the six hour limit beginning at 8A.M. the following morning. Therefore, the report must be submitted by at least 2P.M. This is often the case with intoxicated men spending the night in jail without an official record.

The case may then take either of two routes--one to prosecute and the other, not to prosecute. If prosecution is decided upon, a citation is written and a copy is given to the offendant. Then the case goes to court. If the decision is not to prosecute, and the offender requests a court case, the final decision is made by the judge.

The local police may only keep a person in custody for a period of four days. After that time has lapsed, the prosecutor must make his decision as to what he plans to do with the case of the offender. With this decision plus a petition to the judge, enables the prosecutor to keep the person in custody for an additional six days. If the gathering of evidence is

being continued and will probably extend over the additional six days, the prosecutor may ask permission of the judge to keep the offender in custody eight additional days. After this time, they are generally brought to court. The average time span for a case to appear in court is three weeks. If more evidence is required, eight additional days may be tagged on, or eight additional weeks depending on the case, with the intention of going to court. The eight week and eight day additions are seldom used.

Court System

The court system plays an important role in law enforcement. The system in Aruba is set up basically as those in Holland. The system is divided into three levels the first being "Gerecht en Eerste Aanleg" literally Court in the First Instance. This court has only one judge and handles mostly violation cases, (see photographs in appendix). The second level is "Hof van Justitie" or the High Court. This court has three judges and the attorney general sitting in. In both cases there is a court reporter whereas in neither case is there a jury. There is never a jury at an Aruban court. The judge is the deciding factor as to guilt or innocence and also where sentence is concerned. A six month sentence is generally requested by the prosecution, but the judge makes the actual decision. These judges have all studied law and practiced for at least five years before appointment.

The next level is the "Hoge Raad der Nederlandse" or the

Supreme Court located in Holland. This court handles court procedures not actual cases and makes decisions as to the legality of procedures followed. An appeal may be made on any level.

The courts may present witnesses whose testimonies are regarded as reliable. Alibis are checked and all possible evidence is gathered. A perjury charge is brought against those who are found to be giving false testimony. Witnesses may not be necessary but evidence is mandatory since the word or confession of the accused is not enough for conviction.

Dutch is the official language in court but at times an interpreter may be necessary. There are some people on the island who do not speak Dutch. It is not necessary though to have a lawyer. The accused may wish to defend himself. The prosecutor always speaks first in court and therefore the defendant's lawyer or the accused himself, has the last word in court.

The government may supply a lawyer upon request and this is handled by the Department of Social Affairs. The Department of Social Affairs employs two lawyers to handle civil and criminal cases for the people. This service has been in effect since about 1959. The lawyers are paid Fl.175 for each case by the government. A free lawyer is given upon request if the person is in possession of an issued card. The cards are issued upon application to those whose annual income for the previous year was under Fl.2,600. These people must maintain residence

on Aruba.

There is an average of three applications a day, where most are divorce cases. In such cases, a husband may have one lawyer and his wife, the other lawyer. In divorce cases though, if the husband's annual income is Fl.10,000 or more, the wife cannot obtain a free lawyer even though she personally has no income.

Aruba has two lawyers to handle these cases and there are also two in Curacao. The lawyers in Curacao are also responsible to handle cases for Bonaire, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius.

The court files are kept in a small fire proof room located in the courthouse near the judge chambers. The files, themselves, appear to be in cardboard containers. These files are kept in order and are complete.

Criminal Statistics

Criminal statistics must be treated with skepticism since hidden crime does exist. Most lawbreakers try to keep their violations secret and some cases are just not reported, so what we find is the blind truth. Certain crimes have been increasing according to reports but this may be only a statistical artifact. It could be either an improvement in reporting or that society has more interest now and is paying more attention to criminals and their crimes. This is a question which has been left unanswered.

On the next few pages will be reported the criminal break-

down for 1968 and 1969 for Oranjestad and Sint Nicolaas. It will be broken down with regard to offenses in Detective (Criminal Investigation Department) Division and Juvenile Division, and crimes reported compared to those actually solved. Those reported will appear in column A and column B will represent those actually solved. Following the analysis will be a breakdown for those taken into custody for 1968 and 1969 according to offense and age, also followed by a brief analysis.

Crime Breakdown 1968Table I

	Detective		Juvenile		Detective		Juvenile	
	Oranjestad				Sint Nicolaas			
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Disorderly conduct	6	6	-	-	7	7	-	-
Sadistic action	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disrespecting Authority	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perjury	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Forgery	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crime against civil st.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sexual crimes	2	2	18	18	3	3	8	8
Offending	27	27	-	-	31	31	-	-
Crime against personal freedom	30	30	2	2	9	9	-	-
Crime against life	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-
Ill treatment	114	111	4	4	96	95	5	5
Death by fault	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Simple theft	167	60	26	14	96	43	38	32
Qualified theft	76	27	22	16	99	69	25	17
Poaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blackmail	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Embezzlement	10	10	-	-	5	5	-	-
Fraud	5	5	-	-	4	3	-	-
Destruction	70	36	11	5	19	15	1	1
Aiding a criminal	13	13	-	-	13	13	-	-
Miscellaneous regulations in transit	13	13	-	-	3	3	-	-
Lottery regulation	24	24	-	-	11	11	-	-
Opium regulation	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Other crimes	11	10	7	7	-	-	-	-
Totals	592	398	90	66	401	312	77	63
% Solved		67%		73%		78%		83%

Crime Breakdown 1969Table II

	Detective Oranjestad		Juvenile		Detective Sint Nicolaas		Juvenile	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Disorderly conduct	9	7	-	-	6	5	-	-
Sadistic action	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Disrespecting Authority	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perjury	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Forgery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crime against civil st.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sexual crimes	1	1	11	11	1	1	3	3
Offending	26	25	-	-	18	18	-	-
Crime against personal freedom	18	18	-	-	10	10	-	-
Crime against life	5	5	-	-	1	1	-	-
Ill treatment	125	124	6	6	105	104	1	1
Death by fault	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Simple theft	195	95	19	8	61	25	16	12
Qualified theft	150	88	16	7	71	24	29	7
Poaching	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blackmail	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Embezzlement	9	9	1	1	6	6	-	-
Fraud	9	9	-	-	5	5	-	-
Destruction	53	37	14	9	16	9	3	3
Aiding a criminal	4	4	-	-	2	2	-	-
Miscellaneous regula- tions in transit	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lottery regulation	7	7	-	-	2	2	-	-
Opium regulation	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other crimes	6	6	9	9	-	-	-	-
Totals	632	450	76	51	306	214	52	26
% Solved	71%		67%		70%		50%	

From the statistics gained for the previous two years, there appears to be a decrease in total number of crimes committed (reported) except for the Detective Division in Oranjestad. Crime trends cannot be adequately studied to cover only a two year period but from the statistics gathered, it is evident that theft (simple and qualified) and ill treatment are the areas of greatest concentration among the adult population of Aruba. The Juvenile crime is varied but the areas of great-

est concentration are theft (simple and qualified) and sexual crimes.

As for the solution of crimes reported, there appears to be a marked decrease specifically in Sint Nicolaas. It is true that there had been a decrease in crimes reported so logically the percentage of those solved should have increased instead there was a drastic decrease in the case of the Juvenile Division. In 1968 they solved 83% of the crimes as compared to 50% in 1969. Within the years 1968-1969 there had been a slight increase in personnel so shortage of personnel cannot be the answer for the decrease in cases solved. There was only one apparent increase in cases solved and that was with the Detective Division in Oranjestad with a 4% increase. Aside from that, the remainder decreased. I do not at this time know any possible answer as to why this occurred.

Following is a listing of those in custody for 1968 and 1969 according to crime and age. Age variants have been broken down into ten year periods for the purpose of clarity, and understanding.

Custody Breakdown 1968Table IIITotal=247

	<u>under 16</u>	<u>16-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-45</u>	<u>46-55</u>	<u>56-65</u>
Manslaughter	-	2	1	1	-	-
Theft	9	58	36	12	3	4
Theft with violence	-	14	2	1	-	-
Destruction	-	1	2	3	-	-
ill treatment w. weapon	-	6	8	6	-	1
Heavy ill treatment	-	2	1	-	-	-
perjury	-	2	1	-	-	-
Threat	-	4	3	3	-	-
Import of goods without declaration	-	-	6	4	-	1
Fencing, receiving	-	2	2	1	-	2
Forgery	-	2	4	-	-	2
Arson	-	1	-	-	-	-
Embezzlement in service	-	-	1	-	-	-
Embezzlement	-	1	-	1	-	-
Violence with openly united force against persons or goods	-	9	-	-	-	-
Swindling	-	1	-	1	-	-
Forcing to lewd actions	-	-	1	-	-	-
Lewdness with underaged	-	-	1	1	-	-
Lewd action with someone under the age of 15	-	2	3	2	-	1
Adultery with someone between 12-15	-	2	2	-	-	-
Opium regulations	-	2	4	1	-	-

Custody Breakdown 1969Table IVTotal=198

	<u>under 16</u>	<u>16-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-45</u>	<u>46-55</u>	<u>56-65</u>
Manslaughter	-	2	2	-	1	-
Theft	3	77	20	3	2	1
Theft with violence	-	6	3	-	-	-
Destruction	-	6	1	-	-	-
ill treatment w. weapon	-	9	9	5	-	1
Heavy ill treatment	-	2	1	2	-	-
Threat	-	2	6	1	2	1
Fencing, receiving	-	1	-	-	1	-
Arson	-	-	-	2	-	-
Embezzlement	-	1	-	-	-	-
Blackmail	-	3	-	-	-	-
Violence with openly united force against persons or goods	-	2	1	-	-	-
Swindling	-	-	1	1	-	-
Bigamy	-	-	-	-	1	-
Forcing to lewd actions	-	5	-	-	-	-
Lewdness with underaged	-	-	1	-	-	-

continued on next page

Custody Breakdown 1969 cont.

	<u>under 16</u>	<u>16-25</u>	<u>26-35</u>	<u>36-45</u>	<u>46-55</u>	<u>56-65</u>
Lewd action with someone under age of 15	-	-	-	1	-	-
Adultery with someone between 12-15	-	1	-	-	-	-
Adultery with someone under age of 12	-	1	-	-	-	-
Opium regulation	-	4	4	-	-	-

It is quite obvious that theft is by far the greatest area of those in custody for 1968 and 1969 particularly among the 16-25 age bracket. After age of 45 there is a sharp decrease in crime. By comparing the crime breakdown with those held in custody, it can be seen that the crime trends follow similar patterns. Upon careful calculation, it can also be noted that not all cases solved ended with someone serving a sentence. It can be assumed therefore, that in some cases there was not sufficient evidence for conviction and that in other cases a conditional sentence may have been issued. This does not mean that innocence should be disregarded. Conditional sentences will be discussed along with probation and correctional institutions.

Crimes may be discussed on various levels and in wide variation. I will not discuss the crimes and criminals of Aruba in any specific order aside from maintaining the five crimes previously labeled "crimes without victims" in one section. For a beginning, I may as well start with juvenile crime.

Juvenile Crime

In Aruba most juvenile crimes involve theft, mostly property crimes such as bicycles, games, baseball bats, snorkels, etc. Occasionally though, theft involves the stealing of food.

Most of the crimes committed are done on an individual basis. Juveniles are rarely involved in group offenses. They do not have any gangs per se but occasionally groups of 2-3-4 are involved in small thefts such as breaking and entering.

In 1967-68 in Sint Nicolaas there was a more organized group labeled a gang who used chains for attacking people for money and sex. They are all on record now but have been disbanded. They were sentenced to one year in jail and then stopped all activity.

There is one group at present which some label a gang but in effect is not. It is more of a social club. The name of the group is the Savage but it consists of young adults who get together, play music, and dance. It is strictly a social gathering and not a gang meeting.

Motorcycle groups can be found on the island but group activities extend only to races. There has been no evidence of group fights and this is believed to be partly influenced by parental guidance since most young groups are believed to be off the streets fairly early. I cannot agree with this line of reasoning since parental guidance is not as strong as Arubans would like to believe. I have also seen evidence that these young motorcycle groups are out fairly late so therefore this is not a factor for lack of group fights. Most of these boys are young, vivacious and not prone to fighting. They seem to enjoy life too much to become involved in so-called "gang wars".

A question that comes to mind is: Does the break in the

family crucially affect the social control of the juvenile? In Aruba there are many cases of broken homes and this may play a strong role in accounting for juvenile delinquency. Delinquency for the sake of clarity, is the violation of a conduct norm, the violation being prohibited by law. In moderate cases these norms are enforced by the family and in extreme cases by the police, the courts and correctional institutions. A broken home may be defined as a household in which the child has been deprived of one or both natural parents by death, divorce, separation or other causes, or in the case of illegitimacy, the father was never present. A break in the home could impair the effectiveness of rearing children, and this alters the force of social control. Since there is such a high rate of illegitimacy and with the increase of divorce, the broken home is probably a significant factor when discussing the causes of juvenile delinquency on Aruba. It is not the only factor since a multitude of factors bears some relationship to crime and delinquency.

White Collar Crime

White collar crime may be defined as a crime committed by a person of respectability and high status in the course of his occupation. Many of these violators prefer to conform to the law but feel that economic situation demands deviant conduct. White collar crime is believed to be increasing on Aruba but the only statistical figure to support this is that of embezzlement. Glancing at the available figures, the increase is not that great but from discussions, white collar crime is believed to

be on the increase in other areas in which there are no statistics.

Gambling

Gambling of various kinds meets certain human needs. It may for the Aruban introduce an element of hope into a life which is believed to be one of failure and despair. The chance of winning offers an opportunity to demonstrate a certain mastery over his life. In Aruba, though, gambling cannot offer this too frequently. The Arubans must register when they go to the casinos and can only go a specific number of times a year. Gambling at the casinos, therefore, is regulated for the Aruban.

The casinos, however, do not provide the only element for gambling. Cockfighting which is illegal on the island, takes place every Sunday afternoon. There are about seven fights each week and the bets flow continuously. Most of the cocks are bred specifically for fighting. The age variant is from about 12-75 but betting occurs only on a large scale for those beginning about age 28. Below that age group, betting occurs on a much smaller scale. Even those who do not gamble their money, enjoy the fights and are thus participating in an illegal action.

Murder and Assaults

Murders are very infrequent on the island but there are many cases of assault. Knifings are quite frequent on the island but there are no specific rates for this. The people are very

calm when knifings occur since it is regarded as part of their culture. Many domestic and barroom fights end in assault.

Sexual Deviation

Under sexual deviation I will only list rape, incest and pornography. Other acts such as homosexuality and prostitution will follow under the heading of "crimes without victims".

Rape does exist on the island of Aruba and the blind truth particularly exists in these cases. The statistics available are not an actual reflection of the crime incidence since many are ashamed to admit being raped.

The sentences for rape vary from one day to twelve years. For example: if a girl is unconscious, the maximum sentence is eight years; for those under twelve years old, twelve years; for those 12-18, an eight year sentence. One case last year involved a young married father of 23 and a girl of 13. He was only sentenced to nine months for his crime.

Cases of incest also occurs involving fathers and daughters but particularly between sister and brother. Sex is a frequent activity on the island and with the high percentage of illegitimacy, many do not realize sibling relationships. Sexual intercourse that occurs between those in such relationships is looked upon fairly lightly since it can be reduced to lack of knowledge. Incest existing between father and daughter though, is abhorred by Aruban society.

Pornographic material is generally believed to be evidence of some sexual deviation since it is a depiction of erotic

behavior intended to cause sexual excitement. Pornography on Aruba is relatively frequent but compared to most countries, the incidence is low. It is practically impossible to locate where the books and pictures are coming from. One belief that exists is that they come from Colombia and Venezuela via ships. Films are said not to be found on Aruba but upon further investigation I found this statement invalid.

"Crimes without Victims"

Abortion

Abortion is illegal on the island but there are doctors who perform such services. If an abortion is requested, frequently the women are advised to go to Colombia to have it performed. The females who are aborted represent a cross section of the island's population. They are from different economic, religious and ethnic groups where some are married and some are not.

Homosexuality

Homosexuality is a moral problem on the island. There are approximately ten males on register as homosexuals but many on the island are believed to be latent homosexuals. The sentence for homosexuality is four years. There has been, on occasion, cases where young boys indulge in homosexual acts for payment. At present I cannot give any causal explanation as to why homosexuality exists on Aruba except possibly the strong female-centered family (mother dominated) which at times is believed to be a factor. Lesbianism is rare and therefore not regarded as

a problem.

Prostitution

Prostitution is not regarded as a crime but as a problem. It is recognized as legal and necessary to meet the needs of employees of the Refinery and the tankers that dock in the harbors. The prostitutes are on record, as to age, time of first card (registration), medical reports and photographs. There is a medical check every week.

The owners of the hotels in which they operate send them to the doctor or the clinic so that a check on venereal disease can be made. The hotel owners must maintain their reputations. The doctors must report whether or not they are sick. If they are sick, they are sent home immediately to their native land. If they contract a disease they are never permitted to enter Aruba again.

Many of the prostitutes are from the Dominican Republic and Colombia. They come under the name of shoppers on their permits which enable them to stay for a period generally from ten days to two weeks. The girls do a lot of traveling and if they contract VD in Aruba, they can take their business to another country.

If an Aruban girl, who is a practicing prostitute, contracts VD, a cure is offered. They are forbidden to return to work until they receive a doctor's approval; after which they can return to the normal state of affairs.

Occasionally a boy may be brought in if he contacts VD.

He is then sent to Medical Headquarters for treatment. If the boy is underaged, the parents are asked to reveal who he was with in order to keep the disease under control.

In Aruba the prostitutes are not as organized as they are in Curacao. In Curacao they congregate in Campo Allegra and are thus under control. In Aruba, however, they do segregate into a "red light" district and these hotels are generally well known to prospects. One hotel handles approximately 125 men each weekend.

The average charge is Fl.10-Fl.15 and the girls make out quite well. Evidence of this can be seen in the clothing they wear. Their clothing is generally of better quality, bright in color and suggestive in nature. They also have much jewelry which they claim was given to them by clients. Clothing and jewelry are evidence of prostitute material culture.

The prostitutes are given cards which enable them to practice freely (certain requirements must be met). The youngest to receive a card in Aruba was fifteen. She was born in 1951 and in 1964 her mother brought her in to report on her daughter's activities. She was issued a card in 1965. The old are as frequent as the young. There are some who were born in 1906, 1907, and are still in operation. There are also those who begin later. For example there is a woman who was born in 1915 and received her first card in 1949.

Prostitution seems to be on the increase but in many ways it serves a beneficial function. Platonic relationships do not

exist for Aruban boys and if an Aruban girl dates, the boy automatically thinks love is involved. They also believe that sex must accompany a relationship. This refers to a strong belief in machismo. Arubans are basically very strict with their girls so many boys seek company of prostitutes. This serves a beneficial function since, if sex was not available in some form, the incidence of rape would probably increase.

Drug Usage

It had been reported that no figures are available for narcotics offenses, particularly marijuana (hash). Those taken into custody are generally between the ages of 16-21 and are usually held for only 3-4 days. Violations of opium regulations do exist as can be seen on the reported criminal statistics.

Actual hard core drugs such as heroin have not been noted. Opium is available through certain channels, as is mescaline, a hallucinatory drug. Generally marijuana is found in the greatest quantities and can be easily obtained.

A few years ago there was the case of a farmer who had been growing marijuana and selling it. It seems that he received a two year jail sentence for such doings.

Drug usage or shall I clarify that to read addictive drug usage (hard core drugs) is at a minimal. Soft core drugs such as marijuana, amphetamines and barbiturates are on the increase on Aruba much to the discontent of the adult society.

Alcoholism

The misuse of alcohol is the greatest single problem for

the police on Aruba. Arrests for drunkenness on Aruba are extremely common. Those taken in usually have caused some trouble or have been picked up off the streets. They are held only until the alcohol leaves their body, until sober.

The drinking problem is extremely high. Everyone drinks, so it seems, and heavy drinking begins around 14 years of age. Sixteen is the legal drinking age but many start before. During carnival there is more drinking but the people are cooperative and the police are generally more lenient at this time since it is expected.

The nightly binges usually do not cause danger. It is those behind the wheel, drunk, who cost lives, injuries and material damage. In 1968 475 persons were involved in drunken accidents in a population of about 60,000 as compared to 349 in Birmingham, England whose population is estimated at about one million.

Many cases involve police assists. Previous reports list car accidents, fights, domestic fights and other cases along with public drunkenness and drunken drivers. These reports are broken down into the days of the week and the months of the year. Since the 1969 report only includes public drunkenness and drunken drivers, I will eliminate the other categories for 1968. The reports are as follows.

	Police Assists on Various Crimes--Monthly					
	Public Drunkenness		Drunken Driving			
	1968	1969	1968		1969	
			pros.	n.	pros.	n. pros.
January	110	117	12	-	11	12 - 5
February	159	160	14	-	13	14 - 10
March	141	160	6	-	11	15 - 14
April	121	168	11	-	8	9 - 20
May	126	184	14	-	9	11 - 19
June	125	139	12	-	16	13 - 7
July	108	113	15	-	20	13 - 7
August	122	149	17	-	16	20 - 8
September	129	177	8	-	13	17 - 14
October	136	99	8	-	12	15 - 3
November	128	118	19	-	14	31 - 16
December	193	134	11	-	18	25 - 13
Totals	1598	1715	147	-	161	195 - 136

	Police Assists on Various Crimes--Daily					
	Public Drunkenness		Drunken Driving			
	1968	1969	1968		1969	
			pros.	n.	pros.	n. pros.
Sunday	349	381	39	-	47	48 - 53
Monday	233	262	21	-	18	32 - 12
Tuesday	170	168	14	-	10	13 - 7
Wednesday	152	134	10	-	16	18 - 8
Thursday	162	160	12	-	16	15 - 4
Friday	159	197	11	-	15	21 - 21
Saturday	373	413	30	-	39	48 - 31
Totals	1598	1715	147	-	161	195 - 136

On the average, statistics show that the highest rates of assistance required on a case involving the misuse of alcohol for 1968 occur in the months of February, March and December whereas in 1969, in the months of April, May and September. There is no significant trend as to the months when more apparent drinking takes place. Over the days of the week, Saturday begins a sharp rise continuing through Monday. Saturday and Sunday are the two highest days and Wednesday marks the lowest day for problems from the misuse of alcohol. The hours of 9P.M. and 4A.M. are regarded as those giving the most trouble

causing a concentrated burden on the police. From the information obtained, it is estimated that three policemen are occupied every hour handling situations arising from the misuse of alcohol.

Aruba does have a branch of Alcoholics Anonymous. In many cases men go to the Probation Office seeking help and are sent to a doctor for treatment. These men are encouraged to attend AA meetings. These meetings are generally scheduled every night in different parts of the island and in different languages to serve the needs of the people.

Prison

Punishment is directed at persons viewed as having wronged society and the victim (when applicable) and these persons are usually sent to prison. The prison on Aruba is located in the Dakota area and is extremely small. It has a total capacity of seventy prisoners with separate sections for males, females and children. The cell arrangements are either one, three or five. In no case are two prisoners put together in the same cell. The sentences served there must not exceed eight months. If they do, the prisoners are sent to the main prison in Curacao. In special cases though, the Minister of Justice may give permission to serve the sentence on Aruba. If the sentence is for too long a period of time, they must be sent to Curacao.

The cells are extremely small and are furnished as follows: a chair, table to serve as desk, a small cabinet (wooden) on style of a medicine chest (I assume for clothing), a bunk with

a canvas covering, a shower and toilet. The prisoners are responsible for cleaning their own cells and this may account for the apparent dirty condition of the prison. The men do not wear uniforms but their own clothing which they are also responsible for washing.

There are bars on the windows and electric wires surrounding the place (see photographs in Appendix).

The prison has an infirmary and a doctors office. The doctor comes twice a week and his office is small and appears to be outdated. The infirmary capacity is three. There are three beds each having a pillow and mattresses with obvious lumps. The infirmary is seldom used since if sickness arises, the prisoners are usually sent to the hospital for proper care.

The prison has a kitchen and a food storage room. There is a daily delivery of fresh bread. They do not have a cook, instead, the prisoners act as their own cooks. 9A.M. is breakfast and at 2:30P.M. they have a warm meal.

There is an area for solitary confinement. The area is used for misbehavior. They claim to have no behavior problem so this area is generally vacant. In fact they claim that there was only one escape, a young boy, but after a few hours he was returned to the prison. The solitary confinement unit is small and dark. It does not have a bed but a wooden block, no toilet but a hole in the floor with foot rests on the side. It lacks a shower and has only a small opening at top for some air and a minimum of light. There are two units with a connecting

central unit with an open (fenced) top. The prisoners are allowed out in the central unit (separately if two are there) for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon for fresh air and sunshine.

The prison has four guards on night duty and during the day, an additional one in the kitchen and two extra in the workshop. There are also two in administration during the day. They work an eight hour shift with a five day work week. After the night shift, they receive three days off.

Every other Sunday is visitors day. Prisoners are allowed to receive friends and relatives for fifteen minute intervals. The setting is a small room with three tables and seven chairs. Two of the tables are together with three chairs on each side to divide prisoners from visitors. There is no other dividing mechanism (such as a screen or glass panel). The third table and extra chair is set at the head of the others for the guard.

As far as working is concerned, the prisoners are not obliged to work but wish to, due to boredom of staying in a cell all day. The average working day is from 7:30A.M. to 2:30P.M. Even if the prisoners wish to work longer, they are not permitted to. The prisoners have a five day work week and do a variety of work. They try to suit individual interests when possible. This is where material culture comes in.

They have a carpentry shop where Kwihi tables are made. A section of the workshop is also used for welding. Step tables, four to a set, are made by welding and the use of wooden tops.

If a prisoner is mechanically inclined, he may repair cars. On occasion, children serve time and during this time they sometimes wash cars. They are able to play together but since they are usually there only a few days, there may not be any other children present at the same time.

Outside work in the form of work teams is permitted upon request. Occasionally they do work in the stadium in a team of about 8-10 men accompanied by one guard. If the prisoner chooses to remain in his cell, he may make fish nets. There ~~exists~~ no organized program (instructional) in the prison. The men must teach each other. This is due generally to the fast turnover of prisoners and short sentences served. There are many repeaters in the prison and most serve for either theft or drunkenness.

The wares (material culture) produced are sold at a small profit to cover materials and electricity. This money is then saved for the prisoner and given to him upon his release. The wares are sold to the general public since businessmen wish to make a greater profit on a prisoner's labor. The people come directly to the prison and are extremely satisfied. The table sets previously mentioned sell quickly and the average cost is Fl.20.

Library facilities are available and also recreational facilities at certain times of the day. From 5P.M. -6P.M, a volley ball game is organized in a heavily fenced and walled courtyard (see photograph in Appendix) if there are enough

prisoners. At 7P.M. until 9P.M. they occupy a small patio where they can play table tennis, cards, checkers, dominoes, etc. During the day this area is sometimes used as workspace, for example: for chair upholstery. On Sunday the area is used for chapel. The Priest comes and the benches are then used for pews.

The general atmosphere of the prison is one of quiet dirtiness. The whole place is in an apparent dirty condition and I cannot find any logical reasoning behind this.

The main prison is in Curacao and total capacity is approximately 198 prisoners. The prison also handles Bonaire, Saba, St. Maarten and St. Eustatius. The men and women also have separate units. The prison has eleven workshops and has classes for the prisoners. The prisoners are then able to learn a trade. Such courses include welding and electrical training. Certificates are issued to qualified electricians after two years of training. The certificate bears no markings of the prison but comes directly from the government. The prison is also willing to help men find jobs on their release. The prison also has educational instructions once a week for those interested.

Probation and Juvenile Institutions

The total personnel of the Probation Office consists of two female social workers and a secretary. They alone have a complete record of the prisoners and other cases they handle. They conduct a social report which includes a study into family

relationships and problems encountered. At times a psychiatrist report may be requested. This study is only conducted after the social report is completed. Psychiatric services are at a minimal on Aruba and therefore are overloaded and cannot handle as many cases as necessary and advisable.

The Probation Office is more concerned with child care than anything else although its services do extend to prisoners. Ordinarily the probation visits are once a month. The Probation Office is a foundation subsidized by government funds.

In many cases an offender will ask for mercy and at times this is granted. Many receive conditional sentences and others begin serving time and complete this time with a conditional sentence (generally for good behavior). A conditional sentence involves good behavior without any misbehavior. A conditional sentence also has double time. For instance, if a sentence is for two years and a conditional sentence is granted, the sentence would involve a four year probation period instead of serving the two years. If within this time, the offender commits a violation, he is obliged to complete his sentence in prison.

If a youth is in trouble there is no place to send him or her. Most of these are boys ages 12-14 but there is no place for them on Aruba. The prison in Dakota handles all ages but facilities are limited. The boys do not need a prison but rather a probationary institution in which they can continue their schoolwork and education (occupational). There are two

institutions in Curacao that handles young "wayward" boys but there is really no place for girls. These institutions are not equipped to handle all those from Aruba either. They can take some, but not as many as Aruba hopes for.

The places for boys are GOG which handles boys between 10-18 and Scherpenheuvel for those between 12-18. They are both more of a correctional school with the educational purpose of learning a trade. The boys accepted are between 10-15. Any older than 15 are not accepted since it is believed that they will not have sufficient time to learn a trade. After their training is completed, they work six months during the day and return to the institution at night. Most are released when they are eighteen but remain under counsel of the Probation Office until they are twenty-one.

Imeldahof is a home for girls 1-12 in Curacao but is more of an orphanage and place for those maltreated rather than an institution for those who commit juvenile offenses. Imeldahof exhibits some evidence of material culture. The girls in the home decorate calabash (gourd) shells to be used as candy dishes. The profits received after sales are held in trust for each girl until she is released from the home.

Many of the children on Aruba that commit offenses are mentally retarded. There was a study conducted in 1963 concerned with children with offenses and the study revealed that 60% of all children in the Netherlands Antilles are mentally retarded. At present there are no facilities for the mentally

retarded or for these specific children. They are planning to construct an institution for mentally ill children and adults on Aruba but these facilities will not be extended to offenders.

Conclusion

The study gives a brief discussion on a particular sector of Aruban society but is not as complete as it could be. A complete study would involve much more time and would then be able to be more intensive. As for a short summary I will only add that crime does exist on Aruba although the average Aruban will say the rates are extremely low. The rates are not as low as some believe them to be. For Aruba, prostitution may not be that much of a problem since it plays a beneficial role. No statistics are required to demonstrate that drinking of alcoholic beverages is widespread on Aruba. A walk through Sint Nicolaas at any time of the day or a visit to a home will exhibit that. Prisons and correctional facilities are at a minimum but with hopes for improvement.

Increasing complexity of Aruban life means increasing complexity to its problems. If the island is prepared to meet these complexities open mindedly, it will be able to look at its problems realistically and then try to solve them the best way possible.

As to my original question, I must conclude that Aruba has suffered an increase in crime and other forms of deviant behavior due to the growing secularization and complexity of human affairs along with other modern societies.

Appendix A

Appendix B

The information obtained for this paper was received from informants on file in the Aruba Research Center. All are listed except those who requested anonymity.

Other information was obtained from the annual police report but as previously mentioned such information has been taken out of direct context. Custody breakdowns were offered by the Office of the Prosecution.

I wish to offer my sincerest thanks to all those who have helped me make this paper a reality.